1; Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

● 362 ness. Not regardless of the aid of artificial charms, their hair, glistening with rancid oil, hangs loosely round their sunburnt necks. Sometimes it is woven into tresses which braid the contour of the face; but it is commonly unregarded, and blows out in the wind, giving them a shaggy appearance like wild beasts." Gerard's travels were confined to the southern districts of Láhul, Spiti, and Rukchu; in which the climate is much more rigorous than in the districts along the Indus, where apples, grapes, and walnuts are cultivated with success; and where alone I saw the fine-looking women mentioned above.

142 The face of the Boti is broad, flat, and square, with high cheek-bones, large mouth, and narrow forehead. The nose is broad and flat, and generally much turned up, with wide nostrils, and with little or no bridge. The eyes are small and narrow, and the upper eyelids usually have a peculiar and angular form that is especially ugly. The eyes are nearly always black; but brown, and even blue eyes, are seen occasionally. The inner corners are drawn downwards, by the tension of the skin over the large cheek-bones; the eyelids are therefore not in one straight line, parallel to the mouth, as is the case with Europeans, but their lines meet in a highly obtuse angle pointing downwards. This gives an appearance of obliquity to the eyes themselves that is very disagreeable. The ears are prominent, very large, and very thick. They have also particularly long lobes, and are altogether about one-half larger than those of Europeans. The mouth is large, with full and somewhat prominent lips. The hair is black, coarse, and thick, and usually straight and crisp. Bushy heads of hair are sometimes seen, but I believe that the frizzly appearance is not due even in

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

It seems probable, therefore, that the name of the sect was derived as I have supposed.

IV.—DRESS—RITUALIC INSTRUMENTS.

Most of the Lamas in Ladák wear a red coat with sleeves and long skirts secured by a red girdle. All wear red boots. Most of them are bareheaded, but the higher Lamas wear semicircular red caps. One great Lama, the abbot of Lama Yurru, wears a peculiar hat, formed of bands that diminish in width by steps towards the top.* Most Lamas have their heads shaved, or the hair cropped short; but the abbot's hair was uncut. The pictures of the grand Lamas, both yellow and red, represent them without hair. This agrees with the practice of the Indian Buddhists, who were obliged to shave their heads. The Dharma Raja, or great Lama of the red sect, wears a semicircular red cap similar to those of the Ladáki Lamas.† His right arm is bare, but the rest of his person is clothed in ample red garments, suitable to a cold climate. The *Sanghati*, or kilt, and the *uttara-sanghati*, or cloak, of the Indian Buddhists, are formed into a coat with sleeves and skirt, and over this is worn a robe or blanket. In all the pictures the *antara-vásaka*, or "inner vest," is represented beneath the other dress. This is no doubt shown purposely, to prove that the great Lamas, according to the command of Sakya, never lay aside their inner vests.

The Dalai and Tashi Lamas wear the same description of dress, but of a yellow colour. But all of them have transgressed the holy precept not to wear any ornamented

* See Plates XXIII. and XXIV.

† See Plates XXII. and XXIII.

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The hermit Tsetan--with a prayer wheel (his hair is wound around his head in long strands)

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[539]

Do not worry! For you do not resemble it.
Waste no words! Offer a draught!
Perfect is the beer that the old woman brews!

/102/ In this way hour after hour passes amid singing, teasing, feasting, and imbibing; the throats of the singers become rough and hoarse. Loud, animated chattering of those heated by the beer intermingles with the singing, and in between there is the giggling and sudden screaming of the girls when the young fellows have indulged in a crude joke with them.

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But where is the bridal couple, for whose sake all these people were celebrating after all, during all this time? Occasionally the bridegroom would sit between his father and his uncle in the row of guests, but then he would disappear again. He evidently felt uncomfortable in this atmosphere. The bride remains entirely invisible to the guests. From early morning on she is on her way, accompanied by her girl friends (adza-mo) and companions (ya-do), making farewell visits in the houses of relatives and friends. Everywhere she is entertained and honored. At the moment she is not concerned about the bridegroom and the celebration in the house of her parents. This is not demanded by custom. Not till afternoon does she return, with her female companions, to the house of her parents unnoticed by the guests outside.

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And now there begins for her one of the main tasks of the day: the bridesmaids and the girl friends set about dressing and decking out the bride for her wedding. Her ten braids are loosened, her black hair is washed, the girl friends braid the tresses anew and her hair is greased with butter so that it shines. Then the blinker-like dsarus covered with otter's fur are sewn into her tresses sideways; and finally the main ornament, the great perag, the turquoise ornament, is placed on her head and fastened to her hair. This perag (118) is a wide stiff band, made

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118. The perag is considered a symbol of the snake which has been worshipped by the Tibetans, as well as by other Asiatic peoples, as divine, from time immemorial. In pictures the snake virgins (klui bu-mo; Sanskrit nagi, the nymphs of ancient Germanic saga) are represented as beautiful girls above whose heads tower snakes. The shape of the perag is reminiscent of those snakes while the coral band next to it reminds one of their scaly tails.

of several strips of cotton material which are glued on top of one another.

585 The whole thing is covered with red material. The perag begins above
301 the forehead, where it is about three fingers wide, runs over the crown and back of the head, where it widens--with rich girls and women it becomes up to two hands wide. Then it goes down the back to the area of the hips, where it becomes narrower. The perag is covered with bright green turquoises which are attached in dense rows. Chosskyid's perag was a masterpiece of its kind; the rich Norbu had done his best /103/ in order that his only daughter should be distinguished from all the girls in Lower Ladakh by the size of her perag and the beauty of the stones. Nine rows of great stones were counted at the widest part of the perag, four to six rows, at the ends. Above her forehead between the turquoises were attached beautifully worked, silver amulet capsules guilded on top and covered with cornelians, rubies, and other, semi-precious stones. A second wide band covered with corals ran from her left shoulder along the perag to the end of the latter. A necklace of silver and corals decorated her neck, and furthermore there were silver pendants attached at the sides of the perag as well as to the left shoulder; large silver earrings hung on both sides almost down to her shoulders.

585 The ten tresses are doubled in their natural length by black
●302 wool that is braided in with them. Up till now it had been light gray wool, which is the symbol of virginity; from now on black characterizes the woman. All the tresses come together around the calves of the legs. Here, at the end, a bundle of nine tassels is fastened, which reaches down to the ground.

585 Instead of the everyday dress made of red-colored Tibetan cloth,
292 the dsamos clothe the bride today in a dress of good, blue European
301 material, which the father has bought at the bazaar in Leh. The long dress, which extends down to the feet, is held together at the hips by colored sashes three meters long. The white handkerchief--essentially an ornament--is tied inside this sash and a pendant (do-len) made of shells, little pincases and all kinds of brass ornaments are attached to it on the left hand side. A beautiful shawl from Kashmir, worked in many different colors, which is fastened to the right shoulder with a brooch, is wound around the upper part of the body. The wrists are decorated with thick white rings which are made of large Indian snail-shells, as well as with silver bracelets which are in the form of snakes. The feet are shod with dainty Indian pointed shoes.

585 The dressing and ornamenting of the bride was a complicated and time-consuming affair to which the bridesmaids devoted themselves with zest. The matter proceeded amid endless talking, joking and laughing /104/, and when it was finally completed and everything had

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Barber (Muslim) and knife sharpeners

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B. Social and Religious Life.

Food.

Láhaul. The furniture in a Spiti house has a general resemblance to that in a Láhaul one, but tubs and pails, the woodwork of which comes from Basáhir, are much used, and the churn for beating up the tea with salt and butter is never missing.

The Spiti men buy old cattle from the Láhaulis, and slaughter them in the autumn to furnish the larder for the six months of winter. In Láhaul cattle are not slaughtered now-a-days (except perhaps in some villages at the head of the Bhágn valley, and there it is done with the greatest secrecy); but five or six sheep are killed in each house at the beginning of the winter: the flesh dries, and will then keep good for any number of years: the older the meat, the greater the delicacy to the taste of a Láhauli. The principal food of the Láhauli is buck-wheat, boiled whole and eaten as gruel, or roasted and made into flour, which is then baked into cakes or mixed with *cháng* beer, and formed into dumplings. Parched barely-flour made into porridge is the every-day food in Spiti. It is also eaten boiled with butter and green herbs into a kind of soup; wheaten-flour is generally eaten in this way in Láhaul. Butter and butter-milk are regular articles of diet in both countries. *Cháng*, a kind of beer brewed from rice and barley, is drunk generally, and tea and a kind of whisky by those who can afford it. All the people of Láhaul will eat sheep that have died a natural death; and Dágis (Lehri) Lehaís and Barárars will eat dead cows and bullocks; but it is said that the Hesis will not. Green food is never cultivated, though many wild plants and herbs are eaten as vegetables. Potatoes were introduced by the missionaries and are now grown in considerable quantity.

Dress of Láhaul and Spiti.

In Spiti the ordinary dress of the men consists of a skull-cap, a long loose frock or coat of thick woollen cloth girt in at the waist by a long and broad sash, and a pair of boots, with leathern soles and cloth tops reaching to and gathered below the knee. Some who can afford it wear also a silk or cotton under-coat; the coat is generally the natural colour of the wool; the other articles are red, or red and black. Every man wears a loose necklace of rough lumps of turquoise, amber, and other stones mixed with coral beads. A bright iron pipe and a knife in sheath are stuck in his belt, from which hang also by steel chains his *chakmak*, or flint and steel, and tinder-box, a metal spoon, and a bunch of the most fantastically shaped keys. In the fold of his coat next the skin he carries a wooden or metal drinking cup, a tobacco pouch, some parched barley-meal, and other odds and ends. Many wear their hair plaited into a tail like Chinamen. If of a serious tone (a professing Buddhist, to adopt a phrase used among some Christians), he will never go out without a prayer-wheel in one hand, and a religious book or two slung on his back, and repeats the *Om máni* at every pause in the conversation. The monks, when not engaged in religious functions, go bare-headed, and wear a rosary of beads* instead of a necklace: the cut of their coat and boots is the same, but the cloth is dyed either red or yellow. Astrologers dress in red from head to foot. The women wear a coat, sash, and boots like the men, but the coat is always of a dark colour; they also wear

* These beads are sometimes bits of a human skull, on the *memento mori* principle.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ

792 Chapter III, B. Social and Religious Life. Monks and friars.

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through all the neighbouring countries, stopping at every village, and acting plays, chanting legends, and dancing like whirling dervishes; many also trade in a small way by bartering grain for salt with the Tibetans, and then exchanging the salt with the Kanáwar people for iron, buckwheat, or honey; they also often undertake to carry loads for travellers across the passes, as substitutes for the landholders. They dress much like other monks; but, instead of shaving their heads, wear their hair in long straight twists, which, gives them a very wild appearance.* According to the story told Mr. Lyall in Spiti the *bozan* order was found by one Tánk-tong Giálpo (*lit.* king of the desert) under the following circumstances:—A certain king of Lhásá perverted the people of Tibet from Buddhism to a new religion of his own. He succeeded so well that in the course of fifty years the old faith was quite forgotten, and the *Om máni pádme hun*, or sacred ejaculation, quite disused. To win back the people, Tehan-rezig, the divinity worshipped at Triloknáth caused an incarnation of himself to be born in a king's house in the person of Táng-tong Giálpo; the child grew up a saint and a reformer; he saw that it was impossible to reclaim the people by books, and he therefore adopted the dress since worn by the *bozans*, and spent his life in wandering from village to village, offering to amuse the people by acting miracle-plays on condition of their repeating after him the chorus *Om máni pádme hun* whenever it occurred in the chants or recitation. In this way the people became again accustomed to repeat the sacred sentence, "their mouths became purified," and the religion of Buddha revived.† There is something rather impressive about the performances of these *bozans*. A long screen is first put up formed of pictures illustrative of the legends, and quaintly painted in brilliant colours on cloth edged with silk. An image of the patron saint or founder of the order is enthroned in front of the screen; the leaders of the company then appear in front of it, wearing a head-dress formed of a mass of streamers of bright-coloured silk. Conch shells are blown to collect the crowd, and barley thrown into the air as an offering to the saint: the proceedings then commence by an introductory chant by the leaders to the accompaniment of a kind of guitar; every now and then the whole crowd of men and women join in with the chorus of *Om mani pádme hun* which they give with much fervour, keeping good time, and blending their voices harmoniously. After a time the rest of the company come forward dressed up and masqued, and perform a play with interludes of dances to the music of cymbals,‡ the dancing

* In 1868-69, when one of the three grand *lámás* of Tibet made a visitation tour through Láhaul and Spiti, the *bozans* were admonished to cut off their hair, at the unclerical appearance of which the grand *lámá* professed himself greatly scandalised.

† Mr. Lyall, from whom this description is taken, says:—"There may be errors in this story, and it may be a wrong account of the foundation of the order. I give it as it was told me in Spiti to show the kind of ideas the people have in their heads at the present day. Any one who wants serious information as to Tibetan Buddhism can refer to General Cunningham's *Ladákh*."

‡ Mr. Lyall, who is again being quoted, writes:—"I took the trouble on one occasion to find out the story of the legend which was being recited and enacted; the gist of it was as follows:—A certain anchorite who had lived alone for twelve years in an inaccessible forest, one day washed his robe in a pool in the hollow of a rock. A doe drank the water in the pool, conceived therefrom, and gave birth at the

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the Mongol characteristics. They[1] were inclined to be squat, their noses flat, their foreheads high. They parted their hair in the middle, tying it at the back in a tight knot. Their hair, shiny with the oil from apricot pits, was adorned by headdress. One wore a white egg-shaped pin (*poshel*) at the top of her forehead; the [illegible] wore yellow egg-shaped pins on her temples. Each had long earrings of gold and several bracelets of silver on each wrist. They were barefooted, their toes gnarled like talons, and they walked with ease on gravel on which I would not have been able to take one step. They wore long black dresses of coarse wool, dresses with tight-fitting sleeves and bodices and large full skirts.

The mother did most of the talking; and I noticed that as she talked the other woman became coy, holding the corner of a gray wool shawl to her mouth.

The status of Lahuli women is different from that of Kulu women. They carry the full burden of the house and the main burden of the fields. The men plow in the spring and help out with the harvest in the fall. The rest of the time they sit under a tree and watch the women hoe, cultivate, and weed. And when the wheat or barley is cut, it is the women who carry it in baskets or slings on their backs to the threshing floor and winnow out the grain. Lahul is indeed a man's world. Kulu women, who, as I have said, enjoy a large degree of equality, therefore do not like to marry Lahuli men. A Lahuli woman likes to escape her drudgery and marry a Kulu man. A Kulu marriage is indeed the ambition of Lahuli girls. That is the way my cook, Budh Ram, got his lovely wife. She had come across Rothang Pass one day, and Budh Ram soon claimed her as a bride.

These Lahuli women, like the other Trans-Himalayan girls described in Kamal, *Land without Laughter*, though in an inferior social position, have a large degree of independence in their sexual relations. We would call them promiscuous. Budh Ram bashfully told me one day, "The Lahuli girls will run, but it is easy to catch them."

[1] [i.e. Lahuli woman— ANALYST]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Budh Ram bashfully told me one day, "The Lahuli girls will run, but it is easy to catch them."

Building my bridge at Koksar was a community project.

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[Facing p. 65]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of supplying for the forced labour on the road, exacted in lieu of taxation from each village.

So we see there is plenty to do even on the roof of the world, and we must not grudge the man of the house his leisure when he sits down to have a restful pull at his hookah, the favourite pipe of the East, passing it round for the other men, and even some of the women, to have a turn. As their hands intervene between their mouths and the mouthpiece, this is not so unhygienic a sharing as it sounds. Sometimes the snuff-box will be passed round, too, and in the villages snuff or ash for this purpose may easily be procured by collecting and burning a kind of broom from the hillside. If your friendly "hubble-bubble" has been left behind, a pipe can easily be arranged by making a hole in the ground, tunnelling a passage into it, then pushing in a hollowed piece of wood as your mouthpiece. Now place your tobacco into the hole, get on your knees, bend down, light up, and there you are.

Let us look at our pigtailed friend as he bends over his pipe. Down the back of his natural-coloured garment is a long greasy mark where his pigtail rubs on it. The pigtail itself is continued by wool when the hair gives out, and his big wide *skerag*, a long woollen sash about six inches wide and six feet long, bound in many turns round the waist with the ends tucked in, is wound over it, so as to keep it in place. This *skerag*, as we have already seen elsewhere, is a repository for many articles, either stuck in the back or depending from the front, or, like the little wooden travelling-cup, placed inside its voluminous folds. Another repository for accommodating the cup or other precious things may be termed the breast-pocket, for it is entered where the coat folds over in front of the chest. But before we leave the pigtail and its greasy mark, we must learn that a Ladaki gentleman likes to have his hair washed about once a month, a process during which he must sit with his head on a wooden support, while his wife or nearest female relation carries out the ablutions with soda

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

302 and warm water. There is something very ludicrous in the sight of an aged be-whiskered man-servant, coming to his daily work with his long hair hanging round his shoulders to dry, but the sun soon does its work, and the hair can be well oiled with apricot or mustard-oil, and plaited up again.

291 The ordinary fur-lined Ladaki hat with its turned-up corners
177 is of Indian origin, though the long robe comes from China. If the corner of the hat is turned down, it signifies that the wearer is in mourning; while if the whole thing is worn jauntily at an angle, it is the sign of a true dandy. Before the great war the words "Made in Germany" were often seen on a hat, generally upside down, but to the wearer it was illegible, and regarded as a nice pattern selected from the
576 edge of the roll of cloth. It is quite good manners to use the corners of one's dress as a handkerchief, turning it up to blow the nose on the inner side. When a great occasion
[512] demands smart clothing, it is also quite correct to borrow whatever is necessary from a friend.

302 The outstanding feature of a Ladaki woman's appearance
291 is the extraordinary arrangement of hair and head-dress. The latter is called a *perag*, the first part of the word being an old name for turquoise.

291 In olden times the women of this country wore a round head-dress like that which adorns the lady of Purig or of Central Tibet, until a Ladaki King brought his royal consort from a small state in the closed land where the *perag* was the national head-dress, and the ladies of his realm at once copied their new Queen. The *perag* consists of a central elongated piece of leather, covered with red cloth, converging slowly to a long narrow point below the waist behind, and a shorter blunt one in front. The whole thing is supposed to represent a snake, and the front part appearing over the forehead
301 certainly resembles the head of the cobra. On this bright
291 red background rows of turquoise matrix are sewn, often ending in front with a chased gold and silver ornament,

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

lax order than that of the established Church in Tibet, and allows marriage of the clergy.

Three of the languages spoken are Bunan, Manchet and Tinan, all of them non-Aryan, non-Tibetan in origin, and closely related basically with the Munda language of north-east India. Inmixtures have, however, taken place and very many foreign words and forms have crept into the three languages, Bunan being more infused with classical Tibetan, and Manchat and Tinan having acquired many words from the Aryan Indian languages of Chamba and Kulu. In some parts of the Chandra and of the Bhaga valleys, round Khoksar and Kolong, Tibetan is spoken too, in its local dialectual form. Kyelang is in the centre of the Bunan speaking area, while Tinan is spoken east of the confluent of the Chandra and the Bhaga, and Manchat west of the same right up to the border of Chamba. Tibetan is the *lingua franca* of the whole country, although it is perhaps less understood in the Manchat speaking area (that is in the valley of the Chandra-Bhaga) than elsewhere. Literacy is quite high among the Buddhists, their children, as is the custom also in Tibet, going at an early age to learn to read and write Tibetan in the monasteries.

The people have a distinct mongoloid appearance, although not as pronounced as that of the occasional visitor from Tibet often encountered during the summer months. In dress, the men at least, wear clothes very like those of the inhabitants of Tibet. A long, loose robe of dirty white or dark coloured wool is worn with a sash round the waist, while it is buttoned up over the right shoulder with Chinese type fastenings. On their heads they wear small caps such as in Kulu, or Tibetan embroidered hats with fur flaps turned up, but which can be let down if needed over the ears.

The women have a much more characteristic way of dressing which is restricted to the valley of Lahul, so that it is possible to tell at once that they come from there. The robe which they wear is secured at the waist with a sash from the back of which hang two strings of brass beads; these are plaited into the hair and pass under the girdle, over which a square piece of mother of pearl shell is fastened into the extremities of the plaits. On the head, the hair is collected at the centre on top and there a saucer shaped silver ornament, often with a turquoise in the middle, is fastened down. Over the temples, on either side, a ball of amber called *poshel* (*sPos-Shel*) (imported from East Prussia) is attached with silver links to the centre piece on top of the head. Over the robe, a thick woollen coat is often worn, and trousers can be glimpsed

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

shrine of the local deity (*yül-lha*, (*Yul-lha*)), where she offers up some *chang*. His father and three of his relatives have, in the meantime, carried a large pile of *tsampa* up to the same place, and they, too, present it to the god as an offering. A lama will then draw the figure of a stag in the dust in front of the shrine, and will shoot at it with an arrow from a bow he has brought. This is supposed to kill all evil which might attack the child.

Next, when a boy is between four and five, his hair is ritually cut in a ceremony which goes by the name of *Raldag* (probably *Ral-ltag*, "long hair-neck hair"). After three days of feasting in which the whole family, their relatives and their friends take part, the child's maternal uncle (*azhang* (*a-zhang*)) shears all his nephew's hair off and takes the locks to each person present in turn. In exchange for looking at the hair, they each give a small piece of money to the parents as a lucky offering.

The first doctor whom I saw was called Sönam Tashi (*bSod-Nams-bKra-shis*) and he was a lama from a village called Bardgi. He informed me that there were quite a lot of nervous ailments in Lahul, the principal ones being epilepsy and hysteria. The first of these two appeared when the person was about fifteen years old, and he attributed the cause to alcohol. He thought, too, that it might have some connection with the high incidence of venereal diseases to be found in the valley, infections which he said had been introduced from Kulu. Hysteria often brought with it symptoms of frigidity in women and of impotence in men, and he had a number of patients suffering in this way. As a cure for epilepsy, he advocated beating with hot juniper branches. Hysteria was better cured, he thought, by administering pills made of paper upon which prayers had been written.

There was a Government Hospital at Kyelang, and on the 28th June 1938 I went there to interview its director, Dr. Bhagwan Singh. I asked him about Tibetan medicine, and who the local doctors were in Lahul. He told me that there were quite a number of them and that they went by the name of *amchi* (*Am-ch'hi* or *Aem-ch'hi*). The best among them was Katug (*Ka-bTug*) of Chelling, but there were also Tsering Norbu (*Ts'he-ring Nor-bu*) of Billing, Dön-drup (*Don-Grub*) of Kardang, and the old uncle of the Wazir, Thakur Mangal Chand, *amchi* of Kyelang, whose Tibetan name was Tashi Dawa (*bKra-shis Zla-ba*). According to Dr. Bhagwan Singh, ayurvedic medicine (although I think this was only his way of naming Tibetan medicine as distinct from the Western system) was practised, but extra to this, considerable use was made of Tibetan medicinal herbs.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

resentatives of the other lamaist sub-divisions, the *Gelug-pa* (*dGe-Lugs-pa*) or Yellow Hats and the *Nyingma-pa* (*sNing-ma-pa*) or Red Hats. The Moslems are all Shias, often called Baltis because of their affinity to those people. An exception are the Sinkiang Turki and Uigur merchants who live in Leh and constitute a foreign minority; these people are orthodox Sunnis. They have intermarried with the local Buddhist Ladaki women, and their offspring are known in Leh as *Argons*; there are about 300 of these, and they are classified with the Moslems, to whose religion they always belong. A small ethnic group of distinctively different racial appearance, is constituted by the Dards living in the extreme west of Ladak. Culturally they are Buddhists like the bulk of the population, but they are fair with blue eyes, and their features are those of the Nordics of Europe.

The language spoken in the whole of Ladak is a dialect of Tibetan, the characteristic of which is that it is more archaic in form than the Tibetan spoken in Lhasa, where the language has gone through a process of considerable evolution. Dogra is spoken by the ruling officials of the Kashmir State and the Dards have a tongue of their own, an Aryan language.

In physical appearance, the ordinary Ladaki men and women resemble their Tibetan cousins in that they have broad, mongoloid faces, slit eyes and black, straight hair. The men, however, have more hair on their faces that the average Tibetan can grow, and this is a distinctive characteristic. The masculine costume is the same as I have described earlier for Rupchu, and I should add that both sexes wear their hair long, but plaited at the back. Washing among the peasantry is resorted to very little, and the general appearance of the Ladakis is untidy and dirty, not to mention the fact that they smell strongly. When the weather gets chilly in the winter, or when a voyage to some other part of the country necessitates going through a colder area, more clothes are simply worn over those already on the body, and temperatures are measured by the number of gowns one is obliged to put on.

The houses of the peasants and of the majority of the inhabitants of Leh are solid structures built of stone in traditional Tibetan style. They are pleasant to look at with their flat roofs, white-washed walls and gaily painted doors and windows (the lower part of which is usually broader that the upper part), but they have the drawback of having a stable for the horses and mules on the ground floor, and no chimney in the kitchen, the smoke being allowed to find its own way out through the cracks and joints of the ceiling and roof.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

A man is *yuksapa* (*Yugs-sa-pa*) after the death of his wife, also for a period of time the duration of which depends on circumstances (if it is the senior or one of the junior wives) and on the part of Ladak. His mourning is less severe than that of a woman, and all he has to do is to keep from rejoicing and amusing himself, not put on any jewelry or gay colours, wear his hat with the side flaps turned down. He may eat in common with the members of his household and need not stay indoors for the length of time that he is unclean.

During the period of birth pollution, a certain number of ceremonies connected with the new-born child take place in the house of its parents. If it is a boy, a *da-dar* (*mDa-dar*), that is an arrow with silk ribbons of five different colours attached to it, is placed in a pot of grain next to the mother's bed. Before the babe takes its first milk, one of the fathers (the most influential one) takes a spoon and with saffron powder draws the last letter of the Tibetan alphabet "A" in reverse on it. He then prints this letter on the child's mouth, be it a boy or a girl, and it is only after this that it is allowed to take any nourishment.

The next step is to call in an *Onpo* (*dbang-po*) or astrologer, who is entrusted with making the baby's horoscope. Seven days later, relatives and visitors, but no one of the new-born's *p'haspun*, arrive to congratulate. They bring *mar-zan* (*Mar-Zan*) or "butter-porridge" (made of butter, rice sugar and apricots) with them and feast on it with the family.

At the same time as the *lhabsang* cleansing ceremony takes place, the child has its hair cut (*gJur*) in a special way – short on top, but left long on the sides –, a black soot mark is placed on its face from the tip of its nose upwards towards and over its forehead, and it is given iron bangles to wear. It will keep all these marks until it is four or five years old.

After the cleaning ceremony is finished, the parents can go normally about their business again. It is then that relatives and friends, including members of the *p'haspun*, come on visit in a festival called *Da-kang* (*Zla-Gang*) or "month full". They bring ornaments, presents for the child, and some coins of one pice (called *Tambol* in Ladak, which I presume to be a Hindu word as it is not Tibetan). This money is paid to the parents, but it is repayable, in that when the giver has a birth in his house, the amount will have to be paid back by the present recipient.

The paternal aunt (father's sister) brings a special type of cap to this festival, called a *Pan-ju* (*Pan-Jwu*) or "small Pandit cap", a type of

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

846 852 [604] [242] headgear resembling that in which the Tibetan saint Padmasambhava (Guru Rimpoche) is always attired, and she puts it on the child's head. It will wear this until it grows out of it. The feast lasts two days, and the guests are served with *amai mar-zan* (*Ama-ai Mar-zan*) or "mother's *mar-zan*", which all can now safely eat in the household.

In wealthier families, two more festive occasions are observed: *Bdün-da-kang* (*bDun Zla-Gang*) after seven weeks (*Bdün* stands for "seven") in which many more people, sometimes the whole village, are entertained; and *pang-ri* (*Pang-Dri*) or "lap fragrance" in which a vast concourse of friends, relatives and guests are entertained for three days, if [603] the new-born is a boy. On this last occasion, it is customary for the maternal grandmother to have *tsampa* served to everybody present.

[184] [302] There is no equivalent of the *ral-dag* or hair-cutting ceremony of Lahul, in Ladak. But at the birth of a son, it is not unusual for superstitious people to cut off a small lock and to stuff it into a willow tree. This is called the performance of *ral-chang* (*Ral-lChang*) or "long-hair willow".

553 [551] A child receives its names at no special time. There are three of them, and one of them is always kept secret and never revealed during the whole lifetime of the person. The parents can name their child, or they can take it to a lama who will give it names in writing on a piece of Tibetan paper, stamped with the seal of the monastery. The astrologer is sometimes asked to give auspicious names to a child after he has made its horoscope, and in the more important Ladaki families it is customary for the king of Ladak to be asked to name their offspring.

191 I have gone at length into these various ceremonies connected with the birth and initiation of children, as well as with notions of cleanliness and pollution in ritual matters which have to do with child-bearing and death, because it appears to me to be so very revealing of the psychology of the polyandrous Ladakis. Such ritualistic practices are to be found in other, non-polyandrous societies elsewhere in the world, and they compare very favourably with Indian ways in these matters. But it is of interest, it seems to me, to note that they exist also among the polyanders of an area of Tibetan cultural affinity, with the special characteristics which I have described above.

(v) *Medical information*

114 158 As I had already done in Lahul, I also visited medical men in Ladak, and the hospitals in Leh, in order to gather information concerning the nervous ailments of the population. It was, I thought, important to do

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

LADĀKHIS.

The Ladākhīs have the Turanian cast of feature—that which we are apt to call Chinese, from our having become most familiar with it through the Chinese division of the Turanian family. They have it not perhaps in its greatest intensity, but still unmistakably. The cheek-bones are high; from them downwards the face rapidly narrows; the chin is small and usually retreats. The most persistent peculiarity is that of the eyes, of which the outer corners are drawn out and the upper eyelids are overhung by a fold of the skin above. The eyes are brown in colour. The nose is pressed, so to say, into the face; and it is often, but not always, depressed at the bridge. The mouth is large and inexpressive; the lips project, but are not thick. The hair, which is black, is cut quite close in front and at the sides of the head; behind, it is collected into a plait or pigtail, which reaches about to the small of the back. Moustaches are always or nearly always present, but they are small, and the beard is very scant.

In stature the Ladākhīs are short, several inches below the English middle height. Cunningham gives nearly 5 feet 2 inches as the height of the men and 4 feet 9¼ inches as that of the women. Both sexes are broad-made and strong. There is no doubt that they are an ugly race; their best friends cannot deny it. As to the women, the best that can be said of their looks is that some of the younger ones are "not so bad looking."

One is glad, on coming to the subject of their character, to find more to be praised. The Ladākhīs are cheerful, willing, and good-tempered; they are very ready for a laugh; they are not quarrelsome, unless it be when excited by their intoxicating drink, *chang*, and if ever that they do get to wrangling or fighting, no bad blood remains afterwards. They are by no means ingenious; simplicity and clumsiness are characteristics of them. There could hardly be two national characters more opposed than those of the Ladākhīs and the Kashmīrīs; these latter, quick, versatile, and plausible; the others slow, inapt,

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

few are over five feet in height, and they appear to be compact, but this is not too easy to decide since the men wear very thick long-sleeved cloaks or chogas—much like dressing gowns tied round the waist with a leather girdle—loose trousers tucked in felt gaiters and boots; usually they wear woollen caps with ear flaps and their oiled, black pig-tail of hair hangs behind. The women wear long gowns like coat-frocks with full skirts, sheep-skin chogas and cloth caps which have ear flaps standing out. The best clothes kept for gala holidays have the head dress made of velvet, trimmed with fur edging and ornamented with large corals, turquoise and silver; their frocks are bright with trimmings of brilliant braids and scarves which tie in front—all the cloth is home spun; their "furs" consist of a short, gaily coloured cape trimmed on its edge with long, silken goat hair.

The younger women are quite good-looking, the skin is tight on their faces, and they have a fresh bloom upon their high cheek bones. None know their age, so that it is difficult to judge if they age rapidly or normally, though I have seen many mothers who looked old enough to be grandmothers and long past childbearing, with children tied to their backs. When once the skin slackens it rapidly becomes wrinkled and dark. It seems that they use as a cosmetic the bright yellow juice of a berry, which also acts as an astringent. I do not believe they ever wash it off; when it wears a bit they apply another coat.

The population consists of two communities, the Ladakhis proper and the Champas or nomads; there is no intermarriage between them. The Champas are the shepherds; they take their flocks of sheep and herds of goats to the upland valleys where they live in tents, very rarely does one become a monk; it is they with their wool who supply the principal commercial export product of the country. The Ladakhis are mostly engaged in agricultural pursuits, each family having its tiny portion of land. These people are poor by modern standards, living a simple life in a country which has not yet heard of the modern inventions and progress of the outside world. They plough the land with an animal called a zho, an ever-grunting beast which is a cross between a yak and a cow, the land being watered either by the river or by canal water. They grow barley, wheat, buckwheat, beans, peas and rape seed, and at the greater heights

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782 This pocket set is a most neat and clever arrangement, for the paten and stand are so made that they fit beautifully into the metal pot which is the chalice. Every Buddhist can be his own priest and give the Elements to himself.

291 293 Many wear a chatelaine attached to their leather belt, on which hang most of the things mentioned, and thus their belt is left free for other goods and chattels. Their shoes are generally felt top-boots, often of gaudy colours.

The head-dress is a cloth cap, not infrequently of the same colour as their dress, but I am not able to describe it as I have never seen anything like it; it is perhaps a little like a Balaclava cap or a helmet with flaps. It is 291 most picturesque and odd-looking. The whole costume 301 seems to suit the Mongol features excellently, especially 302 with the long pigtail hanging down the back, which always covers the back of the cloak with black grease. The women dress much like the men, only their head-dress is different. They wear a "pirak"—that is, a piece of red cloth about six or eight inches wide, which starts from the forehead and continues down the back nearly to the waist. It is covered with rows of precious stones, chiefly rough pieces of turquoise, and silver ornaments. This system of carrying their wealth on their heads shows how honest these people are. Then on each side of the face, and sewn on to this strip of cloth, are two pieces of astrakhan, which are made to stick out at right angles to the face some six inches, like black wings. Altogether it is most becoming.

562 The women in this country are not "purdah," and are treated on equal terms with the men. It is most refreshing. They are not the least shy or bold. They are just their smiling jolly selves, like their menfolk.

900 I have mentioned a few pages previously that on enter-